1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[16] CHAPTER 2

THE CLAN

614 619 In the Lolo community in Liang Shan, the clan is the most extensive organization. For the purpose of resisting outside invaders, interclan relationship takes the form of a confederation, somewhat like a tribal organization. But after the crisis is over, each clan returns to its separate ways and takes care of its own affairs independently. There is no permanent organization above the clan.

614 [184] The Lolo clan is divided into main and auxiliary branches. The clan organization to be discussed here is that of the black Lolo since the white Lolo are subject to the black masters and do not have a clan system of their own. The main branches of the black Lolo are En-cha, A-cho, A-lo, A-su, A-hou, and Su-ko. Of these the En-cha is the most populous as well as the most important branch in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien region.

613 The En-cha branch is the general name for the twelve Kan P'u-t'ien branches, comprising the Kan clan and the P'u-t'ien clan. The Kan clan, located in the north, extends into the O-pien county and is subdivided into several auxiliary branches. The P'-u-t'ien clan is further divided into eleven auxiliary branches: Hou-p'u, Li-o, Shih-t'u, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-t'u, A-chih, Wu-p'ao, Shê-p'i, and Nuan-o. The first five branches, known as the five lower branches, are distributed in the area around Hsi-ning on the P'ing-shan border and extend into Lei-po county. They have numerous minor branches and are considered fierce and warlike. Besides these five lower branches, the other six branches populate mainly the territory of Ma-pien county. Of all the twelve branches, Hou-p'u is the strongest and its sphere of influence covers a wide area in the three counties of Lei-po, Ma-pien, and P'ing-shan.

The En-cha branch, that is, the twelve Kan-P'u-t'ien branches of the Lei-Ma-P'ing-O area, also extends into the Ta-liang Shan region. Instead of acting as a barrier to the different branches, Huang-mao Kang serves as the point of contact and gathering place for them. In view of their rapid growth, complicated interrelationship, and constant seizure of each other's territory, there can be no definite boundary for the different branches.

*[Errata. Should be black Lolo — Analyst]

614 631 Next to the En-cha are the A-cho and A-lo branches. These are the most important branches between Lei-po and Chao-chüeh. The ancestors of the A-cho branch once submitted to Chinese rule in the fourth year of the Ming emperor Hung-wu (1371) and were given the official position of t'u-szu [native chief] and the Chinese name Yang as their family name. They were known to the people in the frontier regions as Yang T'u-szu. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, in order to control the Lolo people in these regions, the t'u-szu system, which was hereditary, was established by the government. In the 43rd year of the Ch'ing emperor K'ang-hsi (1704), the t'u-szu [17] office was set up at Ch'ien-wan-kuan with all the present Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho, and A-lo branches, as well as the nine Sinicized Lolo branches in the Lei-po area under its jurisdiction. Whenever rebellions broke out among the Lolo, the government would ask the t'u-szu to pacify them. So the t'u-szu performed an important function for the government. Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, the t'u-szu moved his headquarters to Wang-shen P'o below Ta-ch'i Shan outside the north gate of Lei-po. In the early years of the Republic (1910's) the headquarters was moved back inside the city. In 1927, the incumbent Yang T'u-szu died without any male heir and was survived only by a daughter, Tai-t'i. She is now twenty-two. All the Lolo still respect her a great deal, but the former family prestige and influence are gone. The A-lo branch is 613 divided into four auxiliary branches called Wu-ch'i, Pu-chi, Li-ch'ü, and Mo-shih. They extend from Lei-po westward to the center of the Ta-liang Shan and Mei-ku Ho area and further westward to Chu-heh. In all these regions the influence of the A-lo branch still prevails.

[614] 613 177 A-su, a small branch between Lei-po and Chao-chüeh, has an independent clan system. Besides those mentioned above, there are nine Sinicized Lolo families in the Lei-po area. These are former members of the Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho, and A-lo branches who have surrendered to the Chinese government and have been given Chinese family names. The Chinese in this area call them the nine inner branches to distinguish them from the un-Sinicized Lolo of the A-cho and A-lo branches and the five lower Kan P'u-t'ien branches. The nine inner branches include the following families: Ting, Lu, Chu, Hu, Han, Hsu, Ma, Su, and An. These nine families are distributed in an area between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang, also northward to Ta-ku Tui, Hsiao-ku Tui, and Lan-pa-tzu, and southward across the Chin-sha Chiang to Yunnan province.

614 The A-hou and Su-ko branches are both in the Chao-chüeh area in Sikang. A-hou, Su-ko, A-lo, and Ma are the big clans in Chao-chüeh. Although their subbranches are not as numerous as the Lolo branches in Lei-po area, they are very populous and influential and have succeeded in taking over the entire Chao-chüeh county.

After this brief sketch of the Lolo branches in Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan, we can now proceed to investigate the Lolo clan organization. The so-called clan includes all members descended through the paternal lineage. Originally the Lolo did not have any clan name. All kinship members closed ranks under a common ancestor, who gave his name to the branch. This is the way the Li-ch'ü and the Wu-ch'i branches derived their names. Since all the clan members have a common ancestor, even though they are dispersed in different localities they still treat each other as kinsmen. Whenever they meet, they greet each other according to their generation rank. Also they regulate their duties and responsibilities according to their kinship relations.

614 Lolo clan members live together in a village, but the
361 arrangement of the households in their village is quite different from that in a Han-Chinese village. Their houses do not adjoin each other, but are dispersed on slopes or plains. [18] The distance from one household to another ranges from 20 or 30 feet to several hundred. In each village, the number of households varies from only a few to some 40 or 50. The area of each clan usually includes several villages, some of which are quite close together, only a few li to 20 or more li apart. For example, the Li-ch'ü branch is located on a three-pronged river junction, where the San-ho-i-chê stream flows into the I-ch'ê Ho. Standing on the three slopes are the three villages of San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and I-lu, all of which belong to the Li-ch'ü clan. In Ta-liang Shan, villages such as Li-ch'ü-na-ta, Mi-lo, Li-ch'ü-wa-shih, Pa-ch'i-lo, and others are also populated by members of the Li-ch'ü branch. Sometimes the members of one clan become widely scattered after they move away from the clan village. To take the Li-ch'ü branch as an example, it is not only distributed in different places in Ta-liang Shan, but also widespread in the Pa-chai area east of Huang-mao Kang, as well as in Lan-pa-tzu, T'ien-chia Wan, Ma-ching-tzu, La-li Kou, Wu-kuan-chai-tzu, Ma-liu Wan, and other places.

614 After members of the clan branch have moved to other
621 places, they usually do not maintain much contact with one

614 another unless there is a special occasion. The main social
621 group, therefore, is the clan village, which constitute a unit of close relationship. The clan village is based on two factors: (1) blood kinship, all clan members being the descendants of a common paternal ancestor; (2) geographical area, the village being the basis of the living conditions of the people. In other words, the clan village is a combination of two important elements: blood relationship and geographical relationship. Later when we come to discuss the subject of clan feuds, we shall see more clearly the importance of the clan village. The target of a clan feud is often the enemy village, and to attack it is to satisfy the desires for plundering, killing, and kidnapping. For this reason, the cohesive force of a clan village is especially strong in its aim to preserve the dignity of the clan and to protect from enemy invasion the land inherited from clan ancestors.

621 The cohesion of a clan village usually relies on the political organization within the clan, the leadership of the village head, and other factors. Strangely enough, the Lolo not only have no modern political organization, but also no definite pattern of leadership. They are unlike the natives of Australia where the eldest member of the clan holds political power. They are also unlike the Chinese clans of Fukien and Kwangtung where the oldest man of the oldest generation becomes the clan chief. Leadership of a Lolo clan depends completely upon
614 the individual's ability. All the members of the clan would auto-
622 matically submit to a man noted for his success in fighting in
555 the clan feud and for efficiency in managing clan affairs. This person [19] must have the courage to fight for justice and to take into his own hands the administration of clan affairs. Whenever something happens in the village, he assembles all the clan members and issues orders. In this way he gradually assumes the position of leadership. For instance, the leader of San-ho-i-ta village was formerly Li-ch'ü Chih-t'ieh, who in 1940 was employed as pao-t'ou [headman-protector] by the Education Commission of the Szechwan Provincial Government. The word pao-t'ou is used by the frontier people to denote a black Lolo leader. Anyone who is strong enough to protect other members of the clan and their wa-tzu [slaves] and property automatically becomes a pao-t'ou. So the Han-Chinese who come to a black Lolo for protection also call him pao-t'ou. Chih-t'ieh, the most influential black Lolo in San-ho-i-ta village, was called ying tu-tu by the natives. This is a Lolo term for a very influential and powerful man, and the greater his

614 power is, the more ying [strong, lit., hard or tough] he be-
622 comes. So anyone who is powerful enough to be pao-t'ou is
555 ying tu-tu. Chih-t'ieh died a few years ago. Following his death, his power and influence came to an end. The position of leadership is achieved by a Lolo through his own individual accomplishments. It remains with him during his lifetime, but is not hereditary.

After Chih-t'ieh's death, his successor was not his own son, but his cousin, named Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, who was descended from the same paternal great-grandfather. Ta-chi, now thirty-five years old, is a capable and competent black Lolo. When the
159 author made this investigation trip to Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-
555 liang Shan, Ta-chi was employed as pao-t'ou for the team. Ta-chi's father, Ch'uan-erh, was a pao-t'ou around the Ma-ching-tzu area. In the rebellion of 1919, he was one of the chief instigators. After the riot he returned to his native village of San-ho-i-ta and died there of sickness afterwards. During that time Ta-chi, who was only eleven years old, was left a poor lonely orphan with no one to support him. After more than ten years of hard struggle, he finally managed to get ahead, later married, and had children. Gradually he has accumulated some savings and is now considered a wealthy man in San-ho-i-ta. Ta-chi has two younger sisters. The elder one was married to Hu Hsing-min who lived in Wu-chio west of Lei-po. Five or six years ago, Hu Hsing-min died and was survived by his wife and two young
[693] daughters. In order to help his sister manage her household affairs, Ta-chi often traveled back and forth between Lei-po
[177] and Ta-liang Shan. Having had more contact with the Han-Chinese and learned more about things in the outside world than the others, he is one of the comparatively enlightened black Lolo in Liang Shan. Because of his popularity, Ta-chi soon became the leader of the Li-ch'ü branch of San-ho-i-ta to succeed Chih-t'ieh. This time when Ta-chi led the author and his inspection team to the mountain region, it was his first assignment as headman-protector of the Han-Chinese traveling in Liang Shan. For this trip he was branded a Han-Chinese by
[609] two of his clan uncles in the village. Lolo [20] hostility towards outsiders can readily be seen from this instance.

622 Ma-liu Wan in Hsiao-liang Shan is also a Li-ch'ü vil-
614 lage. Its chief, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u, was formerly a well-known rebellious Lolo, but in his old age he changed his attitude by submitting to government rule and living quietly as the head-
682 man in Ma-liu Wan. Pieh-t'u had a son who was intelligent
614 and smart. Once he was playing with pistols with Ta-i, Pieh-
555 t'u's clan nephew, in front of Shan-wang Miao and was

accidentally shot to death by Ta-i. According to Lolo custom, a clan member who kills another has to pay with his life. So Pieh-t'u killed a cow to entertain all the clan members who agreed to Ta-i's death. Ta-i tried to commit suicide by taking poison, but it failed to kill him. Soon afterwards, Pieh-t'u suddenly died, and Ta-i was spared his life as no one really wanted to force him to die. In July this year, a small group of soldiers stationed at Lei-po came to Ma-liu Wan to cut wood for fuel, but the Lolo thought that the soldiers came to search for opium because the village is an important opium trading post between the Han-Chinese and Lolo. As a result of this misunderstanding, members of the Li-ch'ü branch took up arms under Ta-i's leadership to defend themselves from the soldiers and a conflict ensued. Since then the Lolo in Ma-liu Wan village have been hostile to the soldiers, and there have been several skirmishes in which Ta-i was always the leader. He, too, has managed to settle clan affairs and has undertaken negotiations with the Han-Chinese. Thus he is ascending very rapidly to the leadership of the Li-ch'ü branch in Ma-liu Wan. It is evident that the Lolo position of leadership depends entirely upon the individual's personal competence, especially his ability to assemble all the clan members and to issue orders for combat, immediately after which he will be recognized by the public as their leader and protector.

Although they are dispersed in distant villages, members of the same branch still recognize their clan relationship and maintain friendly intercourse. There can be no feud among members of the same clan as feuds are fought only between different clans. The author's trip to Ma-liu Wan was just about at the time when Li-ch'ü Ta-i had these feuds with the Han-Chinese soldiers and people. So the author was advised to be cautious. But our Lolo headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, assured us that there would be no danger as he was related to Ta-i as younger uncle (1) in the same branch of

1. Ed., lit., "father's younger brother," which refers to a person of the father's generation who is "younger," by kinship reckoning, than the father, but is not necessarily a blood brother of the father himself.

the clan, and both being well-known black Lolo leaders, they would respect each other's "face." As expected, when we arrived at Shan-wang Miao, the three white Lolo who guarded

574 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought [837] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 622 554 564 Leadership in the clan village is secured through personal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo society, [567] a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 614 622 [597] In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of 159 the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in 622 charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-557 min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friend-177 ly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, because of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Taliang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

614 622 627 both sides. Soon afterwards, through negotiations by some go-betweens, the tension gradually subsided and disappeared. Armed conflict among the Lolo because of a clan feud is very common, sometimes lasting for generations without reconciliation. In Ch'ang-pao's case, however, the feud did not last long because it was not a conflict between two clans. Hsing-min and Ch'ang-pao had a nephew-uncle relationship in the same clan, and any feud within the clan is usually settled according to clan tradition, which stipulates that clan members should not consider each other as enemies. Furthermore, Hu Hsing-min's second wife from the Wu-ch'i family is of the same clan as Wu-ch'i Ku-pao. If she and her family should side with her husband's family to fight against Ku-pao, it would be an intrafamily feud within the Wu-ch'i branch. This kind of hostility, which does not involve one clan against another, divides the strength on each side and so complicates the situation that it could hardly result in a prolonged armed conflict.

614 622 584 587 After the conclusion of Ch'ang-pao's case, the white Lolo subjects [pai-hsing] of the Hu family in Wu-chio, numbering about a hundred households, were concerned about the absence of leadership in the clan; so they got together and decided to arrange a match between Hsing-min's younger cousin [his father's younger brother's son] and Hsing-min's wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih). Hsing-min had no brother, but only three cousins, the sons of his paternal younger uncle. The eldest cousin, Hsing-lun, was already married, while the youngest was still a child. So only the second of the cousins, Hsing-ch'ao, who was fourteen years old, was legally in line to marry his elder cousin's widow. One day, the white Lolo subjects suddenly took Hsing-ch'ao and pushed him into Li-ch'ü shih's room with the intention of forcing a marriage. Li-ch'ü shih, however, had heard the news and slipped away in time to avoid the match. The Lolo people then took Hsing-ch'ao to the house of Wu-ch'i shih, who accepted him. A year later, a baby girl was born. However, it was not long before Wu-ch'i shih died of sickness. Today, her father, Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u, has to stay with her [736] family to take care of the two young grandchildren.

614 622 [624] At present, the ruling power in Wu-chio is entirely in the hands of Li-ch'ü shih, who has been appointed by the Lei-po county government as head of a special pao [ward]. Her steward, the wa-tzu Ts'ai, makes all outside contacts for her and is known as Ts'ao Pao-chang [the ward headman]. The fact that Li-ch'ü shih is able to exert and maintain her power,

614 just like a woman chieftain, is due to the strength of her par-
622 ents' family. Since her elder brother, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, has been traveling frequently to Wu-chio to help manage her affairs, no one dares to challenge her power in the village. This, of course, is not a permanent solution, and Li-ch'ü shih [23] herself is well aware of it. She has confided to the author that it was unfortunate that she did not produce a male heir. She is
[589 not yet thirty-one and according to Lolo custom could very well
177] remarry, but she repeatedly announced that she would remain a widow all her life in observance of Chinese tradition. As Wu-chio is an area in which Chinese and Lolo cultures intermingle, the development of this community depends entirely upon the relationship between the two groups.

621 The cohesive force in the clan village becomes strong
614 if there is a recognized leader supported by all the people.
721 Whenever something occurs, once the leader has issued a summons, all the male adults of the village immediately assemble to take orders from him, either to undertake an expedition to fight in a clan feud or to station themselves in front of the village to protect the clan members from enemy invasion. Since the Lolo at Ma-liu Wan had made enemies of the soldiers stationed at Lei-po, anytime they heard of a movement of the soldiers, Ta-i would gather together several dozen men to lay in ambush at the slope in front of Shan-wang Miao so as to deal the government soldiers a severe blow when they passed Chin-chu Tsui at the foot of the slope. Armed clashes between government troops and Lolo people have occurred frequently. After the incident of Hu Ch'ang-pao's death, Wu-ch'i Ku-pao made several surprise attacks on the village of Wu-chio, killing, plundering, and seizing animals. As head of the village, Li-ch'ü shih, although a woman, would personally direct her steward, Ts'ai Pao-chang, to assemble the village people to resist the enemy. At that time, Chinese soldiers were still stationed in Wu-chio, and since Li-ch'ü shih was the chief of the village ward, appointed by the government, the soldiers also undertook to help her in the defense. Therefore the main factor maintaining the clan village as a unit is the union of the clan members, whose combined strength would enable them to protect the villagers' life and property and also to gain lasting independence for the village.

564 A clan leader should always demonstrate a courageous
156 spirit and place himself at the front of a combat, thereby win-
703 ning the respect and obedience of the people. This is not only
554 true of the leader, but also of all the black Lolo in the clan. They, too, should be brave enough to lead the white Lolo slaves

564 in an expedition. Therefore the black Lolo take the attitude
156 that to be killed in battle is a special honor, while the white
703 Lolo are accustomed to following the black Lolo, always taking
534 orders from them and placing themselves in a subordinate position. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi led our inspection team out of the mountains on our way back to Lei-po, we passed Wei-kan-tien, a high slope covered with brambles and undergrowth. A strong wind and heavy rain came in succession, and we could hardly find our path in the midst of the wild grass. All of us were oppressed by the whipping rain and the numbing cold and were also in fear of some lurking tiger, leopard, snake, or scorpion. None dared to go forward but Ta-chi. Very bravely he led the team to beat a path through the wild grass. This kind of courage and determination makes the author think highly of him.

156 Bravery, however, is only one phase of Lolo leader-
554 ship; mere bravery is not enough [24] to keep one in the posi-
622 tion. For example, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u had a nephew [blood
● 614 brother's son] who is now twenty-five years old, the same age as Ta-i. A well-known fighter in Ma-liu Wan, he is said to always place himself in the front of every battle; he is also known as a deadly marksman, never missing the target whenever he shoots. But though brave, he is stupid, careless, and rude, so no one respects him. Because of this, Ta-i, though a distant relative, came to succeed Pieh-t'u after his death as the leader in Ma-liu Wan. Li-ch'ü Ta-chi is also a leader who is both wise and brave. In managing his sister's affairs
[648] in Wu-chio, he knows how to use political expediency to make friends with all the Lolo branches in the area and also to associate closely with the Han-Chinese, thus gaining the confidence of Chinese officials in charge of Lolo affairs in Lei-po city. In recent years, whenever something happens between the Han-Chinese and Lolo, Ta-chi always plays the role of a
[115] go-between. Therefore he was recommended to the author as the chief headman-protector for this trip to Liang Shan. After entering the mountains we went from Ma-ching-tzu westward to Ting-chia P'ing. During this journey, Ta-chi secretly asked his maternal elder cousin [mother's elder brother's son], A-cho Chê-chio, to escort the team with the slaves while he and his clan nephew [i.e., son of a member of his generation in the clan], Lao-mu, took a roundabout way to wait for us at Cho-chiao-na-ta. At that time the author wondered why Ta-chi had to disappear in the middle of the journey, and it was only afterwards that we learned that the region between Ma-ching-tzu

156 and Ting-chia P'ing belonged to the sphere of influence of the
554 Pu-chi branch which was an enemy of the Li-ch'ü, and that
622 there was bound to be a conflict if Ta-chi should lead the way
614 and was stopped by the Pu-chi clan. So he ordered a member of the A-cho clan, who had no feud with the Pu-chi, to guide us. In this way there would be no occasion for a fight and no danger on the road. This is evidence of Ta-chi's tactfulness.

614 The maintenance of clan order depends upon the close
627 union and co-operation of a wise, brave leader and the subjects who support him. Any conflict or quarrel that arises in the village is always settled by the black Lolo master, whose decision is obeyed by the white Lolo. As for a dispute among the black Lolo themselves, it is usually arbitrated by influential, responsible persons, such as village leaders, or pao-
[888] t'ou. Clan members rely upon an older person for his rich experience and superior judgment, and his words are considered model utterances to be followed by all. When an older
622 person is a responsible village leader, he need not participate
628 personally in a clan feud; instead, he could stay in the village
887 to make plans and to send out his younger brothers, sons, brother's sons, and others to head the expedition. The leader of Pa-p'u village, Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha, is a big, stalwart, and well-experienced old black Lolo. Because of his age, he always stays at home and sends his nephew, Lao-mu, to settle village affairs. Only twenty-five, Lao-mu is known for his
[554] bravery. Once he captured singlehandedly three Han-Chinese slaves, who were fleeing from Ta-liang Shan, in an old forest at Ying-li-lo-ku on the east side of Huang-mao Kang. This
[115] time when our inspection team entered the mountains, Ta-chi [25] employed Lao-mu as the second headman-protector, partly because Lao-mu has the backing of his uncle [father's elder blood brother] Hsiao-ha, who is the number one ying tu-tu of the Li-ch'ü branch.

621 The entire Li-ch'ü branch has its center in the region
614 where the waters of the I-ch'ê Ho and the San-ho-i-chê con-
[162] verge. It includes Pa-p'u, I-lu, and San-ho-i-ta with a total population of more than a hundred households. Of these, only 14 are black Lolo, the others being white Lolo. Li-ch'ü
622 Hsiao-ha is not only the leader of Pa-p'u village, but also the
554 head of the entire Li-ch'ü branch. The Lolo of Liang Shan all
614 call him "A-lo Wu-hêh," and none dares call him by his first name, Hsiao-ha. To call him A-lo, the original ancestor of the clan, from which the Li-ch'ü has branched out, is to show him respect. Wu-hêh is a term of respect in the Lolo language. In the entire Li-ch'ü branch, only one person can be

honored as A-lo Wu-hêh. This person must be capable, intelligent, virtuous, and also advanced in age. Only after his death can another person of old age and great virtue be selected to succeed him in this honorary title. To be sure, it is a term of respect, but it also implies actual power, although the connotation is more moral than political.

The A-lo Wu-hêh of the Li-ch'ü branch is the tallest and biggest person in the Lolo community that the author met on this trip. He measures 184 centimeters in height as against the average height of 165 centimeters for the peoples of the world. This shows how tall and imposing Wu-hêh is. As for his ideas and virtues, they can be proved by events the author has personally witnessed. To mention only one instance. The inspection team originally employed Ta-chi as the chief headman-protector to lead the expedition to the mountains, and Ta-chi in turn asked his nephew Lao-mu to be the second headman-protector. On the way Ta-chi also took in A-cho Chê-chio as a third headman-protector. Chê-chio is an alcoholic. After drinking, he would talk wildly and incoherently, and also act fiercely. Several times during the trip he cheated the inspection team and plotted to rob us of our money and belongings. After the inspection team had finished its work in San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and other places, Ta-chi intended to ask Chê-chio and Lao-mu to guide us out of the mountains as he himself had no desire to return to Lei-po city. Overhearing this news, we were deeply upset as Chê-chio had caused us enough trouble since entering the mountains and he was stopped only by Ta-chi's personal intervention on the spot. We would be in danger of being sold as slaves if Chê-chio should be responsible for the journey out of the mountains. Fortunately, before we were ready to leave, Ta-chi asked A-lo Wu-hêh for advice. Wu-hêh frankly reproved Ta-chi, saying that since Ta-chi had escorted the Chinese officials into the mountains, he should act cautiously to lead them safely outside. He also said that Chê-chio was too crazy a fellow to be trusted and if he should change his mind on the way, then misfortune would befall the Chinese officials and the reputation of the Li-ch'ü branch would be ruined. Hearing these words, Ta-chi became enlightened and decided again personally [26] to escort the inspection team out of the mountains. That same night, at Wu-hêh's suggestion, a public announcement was made that our entire team would depart the next day for Nü-hung and Wu-ch'i-ta-ch'i, and after passing Sheng-chi and crossing Huang-mao Kang, would leave the Lolo territory at La-mi. Actually this was a ruse to avoid the attention of Chê-chio and the others who had

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[27] CHAPTER 3

KINSHIP

000 Kin and clan, though closely interrelated, are not identical. While kin group and clan group both develop from the family unit, each has its distinct scope. The family is bilateral since it has a male member, the father, and a female member, the mother. A clan, however, is a family group propagated and expanded from a single lineage. For instance, the Zuni clan in southwestern North America and the Trobrianders of Melanesia are both descended from the maternal lineage and commonly known as matrilineal communities, whereas the Lolo clan is a group formed by descendants of a single paternal lineage and can be called a patrilineal community. [614 611]

As mentioned above, kinship differs from clanship in that it is bilateral or multilineal, and not confined to a single lineage. Developing from the family unit, it includes both paternal and maternal groups. A common error of modern scholarship is to make a strict distinction between the two groups, considering them as separate in kind. Actually, however, paternal lineage and maternal lineage are not absolutely disparate. Their difference is due to the different degree of member relationship. Thus, in a matrilineal society, paternal relatives also exist except that the children have more contact with the maternal group than with the paternal. On the other hand, in a patrilineal society, maternal relatives also exist except that the children have more contact with the paternal group than with the maternal. To summarize, the difference between patrilineal and matrilineal systems lies in the degree of emphasis on member relationship, rather than an absolute difference in kind. For this reason, a true picture of social conditions cannot be obtained from a mere study of the unilineal clan system. It is only through an additional study of bilateral kinship that one can understand all aspects of a primitive society.

In a broader sense, kinship is not only bilateral, but also multilineal. Aside from paternal and maternal lines, all relatives [28] of the husband, wife, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law are included in the kinship system. Within the kin group, member association is expressed by specific terms of address

836 marriage. Therefore illicit love between cross-cousins is not
605 prohibited by society. As to the selection of mates, marriage procedure, the wedding ceremony, and other like subjects, these will be discussed in the next chapter.

591 When a woman marries, she goes to stay with her hus-
592 band. They have a small family of their own, living separately from the husband's parents and managing their own independent economic life. Upon the birth of a child, they themselves begin to assume parental responsibility.

The birthday of a Lolo man is not taken very seriously
527 until he reaches the age of forty. After forty, every birthday
574 is celebrated with a feast for which cattle is killed and prepared for food. Relatives and friends come to congratulate
[431] him with gifts of wine and sweets, while his son-in-law, sister's son, and others present cloth or cotton goods. The guests are entertained with food and wine by the host during a most enjoyable evening for the family.

764 Death and burial has many complicated forms of cere-
182 mony, most of them related to religion and magic. The bur-
● [614] ial ceremony is the occasion for the largest clan gathering and has a great influence on Lolo social life. As death and burial are painful to those who survive, the blood kin of the deceased seem to forget how to act and behave themselves after much crying and wailing; so the neighbors and relatives come to offer their condolences and sympathy, while the formality of the ceremony helps the blood kin to overcome their psychological block and to return gradually to normal life. In the course of time, the burial ceremony becomes conventionalized and its prescribed forms are followed generation after generation. For this reason, it performs the important function of achieving social solidarity and the stabilization of human psychology. Several years ago when an old Lolo of the En-cha branch died, thousands of mourners came from all over Liang Shan to pay tribute, and the event aroused a great deal of excitement. This represents an abnormal aspect of Lolo life and helps to establish equilibrium and make adjustments in their social system. It also shows the close interrelationship between the family and clan kin as well as larger social groups.

½ [Errata. Should be crisis — analyst.]

836 564 848 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

587 614 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited. All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the 602 614 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

000 behavior and attitudes and how they regulate interpersonal obligations and duties.

582 Fourthly, Lolo preferential marriage is limited to
605 cross-cousins, including ego and father's sister's daughter or ego and mother's brother's daughter. As to parallel cousins, in addition to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and ego are also prohibited from contracting marriage relationships. This prohibition of maternal parallel-cousin marriage is quite different from the Han-Chinese custom and may be due to the Lolo emphasis on the maternal lineage. The children of the maternal aunt are treated in the same way as the children of the paternal uncle. In the Lolo
[601] language, mother's sister's children are also addressed as ma dzz gni mo, denoting a relationship similar to that between brothers and sisters. Therefore they are accorded the same treatment.

582 To make it easy to understand, a chart is given on the following page to indicate the marriage relationship or the interdiction of a marriage relationship between brothers and sisters of the same generation and between male and female cousins of different categories.

587 Fifthly, the Lolo practice the levirate, which means that a man marries the widow of his deceased brother, whether an elder or younger brother. This tradition is quite different from the Han-Chinese, but may have the same origin as the adelphogamy of the Tibetan people, or a variation of it. As a
587 whole the Lolo levirate tends to keep the womenfolk within the
614 clan. Once a woman has entered a clan, she is not supposed to remarry into another, but can only be transferred by marriage within the clan so that she will remain forever its member.

[53 - Chart appears here.]

687 [54] The levirate is known as "marriage transference within the clan branch." Transferring the marriage to an elder or younger brother of the deceased's generation is considered good form. If there is no blood brother, then a male paternal cousin from the nearest in kinship to the most distant is also acceptable. The practice of marriage transference has had a long history and prevails among the Lolo everywhere. Today the levirate is practiced not only within the same generation, but there is also the practice of the nephew's marrying the widow of father's younger brother or the younger uncle's marrying the widow of brother's son. Cases like these are quite numerous. For example, the wife of our second headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu, is En-cha

593 daughter-in-law. The wife has the full authority to manage
562 household affairs because the husband is always away making political contacts, fighting clan feuds, or other activities. Assigning the slaves to such household work as farming,
[463] cattle-breeding, weaving, cooking, taking care of the children, storage of food, repairing tools, and others is all done and supervised by the mistress of the house.

593 The outward relationship between husband and wife is formal. They do not speak to each other carelessly or laugh without cause. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, the headman-protector of our inspection team, returned home after having been away for three months, he did not say a single word to his wife En-cha shih when they first met. They looked as though they had never seen each other before. On the other hand, Ta-chi's brothers and sisters all ran in to greet him, talking and laughing intimately. It was only after the clan members had dispersed that Ta-chi had a tête-à-tête with his wife. Much exhausted after the long journey, he lay down on the floor to doze off as En-cha shih sat beside the stove, smoking and talking incessantly. [59] Apparently she was reporting what had happened at home during his absence. Although his eyes were closed, Ta-chi listened quietly, sometimes interrupting her with a few words as though to comfort or to criticize. At that time, the inspection personnel and the interpreters had gone elsewhere, but I was too fatigued from travel to go outside. So I was also sitting on the ground to rest and had a chance to observe their conversation.

593 Being built on a solid economic basis, the Lolo family
562 has no worries about daily food and clothing. This stabilized life makes husband and wife live together harmoniously and
614 pass their days in peace and ease. Sometimes, however, their relationship may become strained and conflict arise. In such a case, the husband dare not mistreat or beat his wife because of her strong family background. If the wife should
[628] rush back to her parents' home to complain of ill treatment from her husband, her clan members would immediately gather together to organize a punitive force. If the husband's clan offers any resistance, then the conflict would develop into a clan feud. So due to the support of her parents' clan, the wife occupies quite a high status in the family.

586 The wife seldom elopes with another man. When it happens, the husband can request his parents-in-law to repay the betrothal money. The latter do their best to find the woman and return her to her husband. On the other hand, if the husband does not like his wife or if he has another woman and

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

586 wants to divorce his wife, then her family would demand that apologies and payments be made to her. When there is no other alternative, husband and wife can have a divorce and live separately, but first they have to negotiate through a mediator the number of slaves and the portion of land and other property the husband should leave his wife to give her economic independence. When both sides agree, then they can get a divorce. During the husband's lifetime, the di-
587 vorced woman cannot remarry, and her clan cannot hope to transfer her in marriage.

581 To sum up, there is a close relationship between mar-
614 riage and the clan family in Lolo society. Marriage is not a consummation of love between male and female — young lovers do not often become lifelong partners — but is the alliance of two clans and an instrument of their co-operation. At the same time, the economic factors in marriage tend to stabilize family life. Hence marriage is a cooperative interclan contract; with their respective clan backgrounds, husband and wife enjoy equal status in the marriage relationship.

laboring class. Originally, they were the household slaves of various black Lolo clans; in a number of cases, these household slaves were later promoted to become "subjects." This kind of advancement, however, is achieved not through the use of money and property to gain the freedom of the person, but through a long period of faithful service to the master, thereby gaining his confidence and receiving from him land to establish a household. Then gradually they advance to the "subject" status. This promotion cannot be gained overnight and it usually takes a considerable period of time, sometimes as long as several generations. In Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household, there is a slave by the name of Hu, who was captured in the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919. He has already served his master for more than 20 years and has won his master's confidence. A wife has been given him and she has borne him a child. He now owns a small house near Ta-chi's and farms his own land, but he still comes in to perform service for Ta-chi and to help in the management of household affairs. When the inspection team stayed at San-ho-i-ta, although Ta-chi had many other household slaves, Hu still had many duties to perform, such as killing and skinning sheep, building the fire, and cooking. He was also ordered to take the author to visit the mountain behind the house. Actually, Hu has not yet achieved "subject" status, partly because of his Han-Chinese origin — it is not until the second or third generation when their descendants no longer consider themselves Han-Chinese that the household slaves could become "subjects."

In their potential advancement and demotion as well as in their mobility, household slaves and "subjects" have social positions that are not very much different. [77] In Liang Shan today the "subjects" are the majority. The population is approximately one-tenth black Lolo, two- or three-tenths Han-Chinese slaves, and the rest is all white Lolo. After many generations and long years, the white Lolo "subjects" have their own family names and clans. For example: the Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch in the Ku-p'eng and P'u-to-i-ta area is quite populous and influential. To the west of I-lu is the Su-chia white Lolo branch, also very prosperous. At Wu-chio west of Lei-po are the white Lolo families of Tu, Ts'ai, Yang, and Po under the rule of the black Lolo Hu Hsing-min. Since the White Lolo have clan names, they marry outside of the clan and their kin relationship is the same as the black Lolo's. Also their clothing, food, housing, modes of travel, customs, traditions, and so on are entirely similar to the black Lolo's.

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo

sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
564 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
628 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead
627 to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle as an expression of gratitude.

621 In a one-clan village, where there is only one black
564 Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly, but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches for added protection. To pay respects to his
[431] other master, the white Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges all the obligations of a "subject."

●[614] The Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to the Wu-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community. Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping, and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called san-t'an wa-tzu. The white Lolo serve only their black master
[78] whereas the Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally
727

628 If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or
614 more clans are united in an effort to resist the common ene-
726 my, then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance. They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help each other to the last man.

628 At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of
726 the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang
[411] Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows, poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets, and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight]. During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the
[714] field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk
[492] garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the enemy.

726 This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name
628 only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns
177 for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead, they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely indicates that the introduction of modern technology has changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

562 During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo
728 woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and,
628 standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo
[517 tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have
762] obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged, and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control. The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

628 each family, B owes A an indemnity for the two extra lives it
728 took. A high price is paid for black Lolo and a lower price
682 for white Lolo. Besides payment, they would also try to find out the cause of the feud. If A started the feud, it has to pay B an indemnity in lieu of an apology.

628 The day on which peace is concluded, payments are
728 made through a middleman and a ceremony is held to cele-
574 brate the peaceful settlement. Usually a mountain slope is selected as the meeting place for both sides and the side which is to make the apology would kill oxen, sheep, pigs, and chickens to entertain the guests. Before the feast, they kill a chicken and drop its blood in the wine to be drunk by a representative from each side as a covenant that from now on they would resume friendly relations. After the covenant, they hold a big feast, welcoming each other with drinks, and leave only when everyone has had a good time.

614 In Lolo society, since the clan is primary in social or-
682 ganization, everybody in the clan shares the same responsi-
628 bility and obligation. The individual is a member of the clan organization. Any injury to the individual is considered an offense to the clan. So if one of its members is killed, the clan organization would come forward [90] for vengeance by killing a member of the opposite group to atone for the death. That a life is paid for by another life is an unwritten law of Lolo society. The way to enforce this law is to utilize the organization's common responsibility and the mechanism of clan-feud fighting.

614 Members of the same clan are not permitted to fight
682 feuds. Today, however, on account of the rapid growth of
627 numerous branches within the clan, there are occasionally the misfortunes of fighting and killing between different branches of the same clan. All intraclan disputes are commonly arbitrated by an influential black Lolo in the clan. In the case of a murder, Lolo tradition requires that the killer pay with his life and no indemnity money be accepted. When Li-ch'ü Ta-i accidently killed the son of Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u. In that same year, Pieh-t'u, who was Ta-i's younger uncle of the paternal clan, invited all clansmen to a meeting and to a feast for which an ox was killed. The clansmen decided that Ta-i
[762] would have to pay with his life. Reluctantly, Ta-i accepted the decision and twice attempted suicide without success. It was only after Pieh-t'u's sudden death that no one would press for the forfeit of Ta-i's life. At the same time Ta-i's wife's family, the En-cha branch, which was quite strong and influential, did not want Ta-i to pay with his life; so they came forward to negotiate

614 for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i
682 had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan
627 dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and gradually changed in form and direction.

578 Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood
682 kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the payment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese [177] merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i, however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i [762] and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members [672] felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

614 On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship,
672 the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective responsibility so that clan members would not fight each other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan re-
614 lationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan
628 feuds generation after generation, their young men first
555 learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves
182 organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

775
796 being postponed ten or more years, even several decades, be-
769 fore it is held.

[614] The ceremony for delivering the soul is an occasion
796 for the clan and kin members to get together; on the one side
769 it has a rigid ritual and on the other it is a group gathering
778 for feasting and drinking, where one enjoys social life to the fullest. The complete ritual consists of prayers to the twelve heavenly courts, lasting about ten or more days and involving expenses greater than all other activities. Thus, only a
[556] wealthy family can afford such an affair. Usually the ceremony covers only one or two courts or several courts. It is performed by the pi-mu for a number of purposes, such as removing impurities, returning the spirits to their proper places, invoking peace and blessings on the descendants, and praying for the abundance of harvests. Finally, there is also the function of sending off the ancestral spirits. This usually involves the reopening of the spirit tablet of the parents; the making of a new wooden stick as a spirit house; and the placing together of the parents' old spirit beings in the spirit house of the new wooden stick, with the father's spirit on the top and the mother's spirit at the bottom. This is also an example of imitative magic. Later they put the two halves of the wooden stick together, binding them at both ends with a white cloth. When it is time to send off the spirits, the stick is carried on the back by the son, the pi-mu leading the way, to a rocky cave in the high mountains where there is no trace of human life. It is said that this is the meeting place of the clan's ancestral spirits. During all this time, the pi-mu recites the scripture, pointing the way for the spirits to the Ta-po Ho — the other world in Lolo belief. Once inside the mountain cave, three to five clan members begin to untie the newly made wooden stick and re-examine the ancestral tablets to make sure that there is nothing wrong before the stick is tied together again and left inside the mountain cave.
[782] Then they partake of a half of a pig's brain, which they brought with them, and place the skull filled with wine in front of the spirit tablets as an offering. After this they return home and no other ceremony for worship is held again.

796 On the one hand, the funeral ceremony facilitates the
769 safe passage of ancestral spirits to the other world through ritual practices based on the belief in ghosts and spirits; on the other hand, by getting together and performing ceremonies under tense emotional conditions, it seeks to enable the living persons to go through the crisis and return gradually to their normal daily life, thereby maintaining the equilibrium of human society.